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THE NATIONAL ERA.

WASHINGTON, APRIL 1, 1850.

He saw in Britannia the impassable dignity, presenting the cold and brilliant surface that ever distinguished her manners to strange gentlemen. They were all seated. The presence of Susan Somerville restrained conversation upon the subject of the inheritance. They discussed general topic—the beauty of the spring—the splendor of the landscape stretching down before them, and visible at a great distance from this bleak height. Then they discussed Washington, Mr. Jefferson, Thomas Moore, who was then there, and, in short, everything, but the business nearest the hearts of all. General Stuart-Gordon perceived that Frobisher's admiration of Britannia grew by what it fed on. And very soon he arose to take his leave, as this was only an experimental visit.

"You have seen Miss O'Riley, sir," said the General, as soon as they were on the road.

"Yes, sir."

"And you are pleased with her, no doubt."

(COPY-RIGHT SECONED.) THE MOTHER-IN-LAW.

A STORY OF THE ISLAND ESTATE. BE MES. EMMA D. E. SOUTHWORTH.

"Yes, sir."

"And you are pleased with her, no doubt."

"Sir, I feel that any praise of mine of that young lady, would be an impertinence. She is without a peer."

Both gentlemen now sunk into silence, each occupied with his own thoughts. They reached the Isle of Rays in time for dinner. Jealous as he was, General Stuart-Gordon, with Virginian hospitality, invited and pressed his visiter to necome his most while he should remain in the neighborhood; and, after some hesitation, the young man accepted his invitation, remarking that nothing in America struck him more forcibly than the resemblance between English country

than the resemblance between English country life and Virginia country life. That it appeared

life and Virginia country life. That it appeared to him that the planters had retained, in a great degree, the domestic manners and customs of their English fathers.

At dinner, the young stranger was presented to Mr. Stuart-Gordon. Louise did not make her appearance, nor did the young man see her while he remained. It would have saved him

from a serious mistake, and all parties from much

future sorrow, if he had. General Stuart-Gordon was absent and taciture

rivilets and waterfalls, gianced in lines of silver light under the moonbeams. He saw neither the glory of the heavens nor the splendor of the earth. He saw nothing but the black shadow of the Crag House high up before him, and he sped on towards it. The sweet notes of the violin floated out on the moonlit air as he neared the house. Britannia, Susan, and the two women, were out

the porch, and George was playing the fiddle for them. Brighty separated herself from the party, and advanced into the silver light to meet him,

just as he had got down from his horse.

"I am very glad you came again—very glad.
That stiff and formal call, this morning, could

That stiff and formal call, this morning, could scarcely be called a visit. As you may judge, I wanted to see you, also, after our comedy of yesterday evening." Somewhat startled by the friendliness of her manner, he drew her arm within his own, and, instead of going on to the house, he took her to walk down the Crags.

"Well, Britannia, what do you think of this

young Frobisher?"
"His person and manners are faultless, and his

dress the perfection of exquisite elegance "—
"And his mind—his conversation—what do you think of that, Britannia?"

"His mind appears to be highly cultivated, and his conversation at once profound and bril-

tannia, do you know that this young man—this Adonis of the faultless figure and face, and the

ciegant dress and address this Apollo of the pro-

country with the design of marrying you?"
"Without ever having seen me? Cool and

"Nay; he wished to see you, before deci-

"A prudent precaution, to ascertain if I would

"He is very much pleased with you, Bri

please him, and pass in good English society Very flattering that, also !"

"How kind of him!"

"He admires you excessively."

"Does he? 'Pll be at charges for a lookingglass,' and set up o' nights to admire myself!"

"You are gay, Britannia."

"Oh! look at the glorious heavens above, and
look at them again reflected in the waters below;

see The Isle of Rays coquetting with the moon— glancing back laugh for smile, and flash for beam; hear the cataract shouting as it leaps into the river, dashing up millions of diamond sparks; see the solemn dark rocks watching the play with

grave joy, like demure chaperones of young folks at a ball! Oh, I am glad and gay to-night!"

'He hums and he hankers, he frets and he cankers,

You never can please him, do a' that you can; He's peevish and jealous of a' the young fellows,"

sung Brighty, changing her manner to one of

Instanter, sir! I am as serious as an owl!"

" I was about to say that this young man will

ertainly propose to you!"
"Exactly! Now we are going to rehearse

yesterday's scene over again!"
"You are in one of your wayward humors to

Brighty, now really serious.
"I wish, then, to set before you the claims this

to marry you Finally, he can place you near the head of London society!"

"Why? First, because I am pledged!"
"But I release you!"

"Secondly, then, because I could not be proud

complished, and a member of the English aris

tocracy?"
"No. I could not honor him in my heart. He

most highly honor in you."

"But, Britannia, he may gain all this; nay

his sun may be rising to its meridian glory while mine will be declining."

"Lastly, then, I must refuse him because

Love another, Brighty! Oh, Heaven!"

Having been duly apprized of the intended marriage, Mr. Frobisher set out for Washington

"Yes another—I love you!"
"Love me—at last, Brighty?"

"Have you done, sir ?

Why, Britannia ?"

"Speak, sir, if you please-I attend," said

"Be serious, Britannia, for I am!"

"I would I were—this young man, Britannia!"

"How kind of him !"

" Well! what is it now

BOOK SECOND. IV-CONTINUED.

The next morning, as General Stuart-Gordon sat upon the piazza, enjoying his cigar, his paper, and the beautiful landscape stretched out before him, he saw a travelling carriage descend the road leading from a neighboring village, and taking the direction to the little bridge connecting the bank of the river with the Isle of Rays, pass over it, and entering upon the circular carriage road leading to the front entrance of the mansion, drive slowly up, and pause. The coachman jumpel from the box, opened the door, let down jumpel from the box, opened the door, let down the steps, and stood aside, to let a gentleman descend. The General arose, and advanced to receive his visiter. He was a neatly and elegantly dressed man, of about twenty-six years of age, tall, slender, handsome, dark complexioned, and of very graceful manners, and charming address. "I have the honor of addressing General Stuart-Gordon?"

"That is my name, sir."

"I am James Frobisher, of the British Embassy."

"I am happy to see you, sir. Walk in!" said the General, bowing, and leading the way to the light under the moonbeams. He saw neither the the steps, and stood aside, to let a gentleman descend. The General arose, and advanced to receive his visiter. He was a neatly and elegantly dressed man, of about twenty-six years of age, tall, slender, handsome, dark complexioned, and of very graceful manners, and charming address

art-Gordon ?"

the General, bowing, and leading the way to the

oak parlor. "I shall feel obliged if you will grant me a private interview, sir." "Certainly, sir, with great pleasure. Will you

accompany me to the library?" The handsome visiter bowed gracefully, and followed his conductor to the library. As soon

as they were seated-"I presume, sir, that I am speaking to the guardian of Miss Britannia O'Riley?" inquired

"Sir-I am in some sort the guardien of that young lady."

"You know her intimately, then." " I do, sir."

"Where was she educated? What is she like?" "At Hartford, Connecticut, sir; and she is like a beautiful, elegant, and accomplished woman." I am pleased to hear you say so, sir. Is she

at your house at this time? If so, how soon can

I be presented to her ?" Sir, the young lady is at some weeks to a young friend, whose residence is two miles distant. If you wish it, I will send a

"Thank you, sir. Will it be asking too much of your goodness, to request your company on

"Oh! no, sir; I will attend you with pleasure,

at any time." "Then the sooner the better, my dear sir, as am impatient to be presented to this young lady.

General Stuart-Gordon rung the bell, and said-"I will send a messenger immediately, to announce our visit, and we will set out in half an hour. Excuse me a moment, sir "-and, going to "My DEAREST BRITANNIA: Mr. Frobisher is

here, and we will both be with you in an hour. and folded it, just as Apollo made his appearance at the door

" Take this to Miss O'Riley !" The man bowed and withdrew.

"As you are the young lady's guardian, and as I have but a few days to remain, I will tell you, sir, the motive of my anxiety to be presented to her. In a word, it is this: The Castle of Clonmachnois is a ruin; the estates are dwindled down to a few acres of marsh land, tenanted by a few wretched peasants, who are not able to pay for the mud huts in which they starve." "This coincides with what I have heard from

the young lady herself, sir !" Nothing therefore remains but the title."

"That is understood, sir."

Well, sir; I am a distant relative of the family of Clonmachnois. I have an ample fortune, and am under no necessity to marry an heiress of for the sake of serving there the interests of Ireland. My father has interest at Court, and has obtained for me the promise of the reversion of the title of Earl of Clonmachnois, in the event of my marrying the heiress of that house."

General Stuart-Gordon did not reply. He sat staring at the young and handsome speaker with the frank and graceful manners, as though he had been the Gorgon that had turned him into stone. Happily the General sat with his back to the window, so that the young man could not see the dismay blanching his countenance as he continued

"Yes; that is the reason why I wish, without delay, to be presented to this young lady, to see whether she is by education and manners fitted to be introduced to London society."

"Sir," said the General, "I have never seen a more elegant or accomplished woman than Britannia O'Riley. You will see her, however, this morning. There is no carriage road leading from the Isle of Rays to the Crags, so that we shall love another!" have to get into the saddles;" and again ringing the bell, General Stuart-Gordon gave directions for two horses to be saddled. In a few minutes the two gentlemen were on horseback, and ambling towards the Crags, the younger traveller stopping frequently in the ascent, and turning to look with a poet's enthusiasm at the entrancing beauty, sublimity, and splendor of the landscape of mountains, rocks, falls, river, isle, and verdant banks, with all the glories of the earth and sky, doubled and reflected in the clear water.

the next day.

A month had now passed away, during which no intercourse was held between Mont Crystal and intercourse was held between Mont Crystal no intercourse was held between Mont Crystal no intercourse was held between Mont Crystal no intercourse and in the control of t "Why, this is a scene of divine beauty! There and the Isle of Rays. The separation of the families was as complete as though the Atlantic had frozen up between them. Louise, timid, docile, pliable, and ever under the influence of those nearest to her, made no effort to rejoin her is nothing on the Rhine like this! Nothing in Switzerland, or Italy, like this! The Isle of Rays! It scintillates and sparkles like a diamond! Emits lines of light like a cluster of mother, or to reconcile the families. Louis con-tinually cheered her with the hope that this esdarting sunbeams! I wish my friend Turner

were here, to sketch this Eden!"

Moody and silent, the General scarcely heard or replied to the enthusiastic admiration of his companion. They reached the Crags at last, rapped, were admitted. Britannia and Susan Somerville arose to receive their visiters. General Stuart-Gordon presented "Mr. Frobisher."

Britannia received him with a courtesy, and placing her hand in that of the General, returned the pressure with which he greeted it. General Stuart-Gordon looked from Britannia to Probisher, to note their mutual effect upon each other. He saw in Frobisher the surprise, the quick and ardent admiration he expected to find.

THE NORTHERN TOURNAMENT.

BY GEORGE W. PUTNAM.

Ho! for the Northern Tournament Arouse New England's sons! From every clan and party Come forth! ye chosen ones, Come forth to rend the curtain Of Slavery's broading night;

Up! up! ye freemen, to the field, And battle for the right! Come not for words of praising

Woman's smile, or fading bay For Beauty's lip and eye of ligh The worm shall est away ; And for your names no lofty shaft Shall lift its head on high, But ye shall for the human race

Do DEEDS which cannot die Come from the cliffs whose mighty forms Stand round about the bay, Where, freighted with a Nation's germ, The lonely "May Flower" lay-

From the zocks which heard their thankful prayer, When, an Ern in all time. The Pilgrin Lept their Sabiatir Beneath the snow-clad pine. Come from your verdant hill-sides,

From your lakes and glorious streams From where through mountain passes The Borealis gleams; Come from the distant Prairie Where yet the red deer run.

Come from the woodland homestend, From the workshop and the mili-Bring burning lips and warm hearts. Be ye worthy of your ancestry, Stand by the truths they cherished!

And the hunter's shadow lengthens

In the last rays of the sun.

March in reverence o'er the bat-ie fields Where in Freedom's cause they perished Come not with prancing chargers, Bring no gleaming spear or shield, No helm or plume, as erst was seen On hangity Templar's firth

But as with solemn steps ye pass The graves of those of yore, Let the high priests of Freedom Bear the BIBLE on before! Look! how the call is answered! See the millions arm for Truth See! impatient for the onset, Hoary age and flery youth

While from their Factory windows Want's toiling daughters, wan, Earnest watch the tide of battle, And cheer the freemen on Unlike the haughty knights who graced

Virginia's Tournament, We bring plain forms, of Yankee mould, By honest labor bent— Tongues more unfettered than the winds Before which oceans heave The Templar's mail beneath!

Around our dauntless heroes, From the workshop, field, and flood, Smile no proud dames with garments Red with their sisters' blood; But as down the dark arena Manhood's arm Truth's arrow huris, Ye'll hear the matron's blessing

And the cheer of Yankee girls

Our "Queen of Beauty" waits to walk The path of Freedom's storm-She is no earthly spirit, Nor bears she human form;

She stood and bowed, ere shone the star Before the throne of God! And she shall stay, to see in dust Earth's latest tyrant hurled! Man's last foul fetter riven

Then upward lead her thralless throng While your might the slave is crushing,

While the Wrong ye basely worship-Hark! on the startled ear! From the golden-curtained West, Roll the freemen's thunder shoutings

O'er the Alleghany's crest! Your redemption draweth nigh! Lo! the beaming of your day star

The mighty line is moving! Now from the Northern ramparts Peals the charging trumpet hourse And the Northmen on their steeds of fire Sweep down the Southern course!

As the rush of many waters As the tempest in its might, As comes the fearful avalanche

In close and stern array, The gathering bos's of God the Lord' LET TYRANNY SIVE WAY! Salem, Mass., February 17, 1850.

THE CHRISTIAN ANTI-SLAVERY CONVENTION.

The welfare of man is the highest object of The welfare of man is the highest object of Christian labor; it is the object for which Christ came into the world. Love to God is demonstrated by our labors for the temporal and spiritual good of mankind. If we fail in this, we have no right to claim the Christian name. But thus to labor, we must feel that every man is our brother, and de-"Then, if this gentleman should honor me with the offer of his hand, I should most respectmands from us a brother's affections and a brothmands from us a brother's affections and a brother's care. No shjectness of character, no degradation in vice, no condition of ignorance, no lowness of social rank, no loss of caste, no difference of of race, no color of the skin, should make us forget that all men are brethren. To forget this is to repudiate the Gospel, to deny Christ, and to "Not proud of him-handsome, elegant, acbring upon ourselves the wrath of an offended God. It is the want of this Christian spirit in the churches, obliterating the distinction bewants the prestige of age, wisdom, a name made glorious by himself; he wants all, in fact, that I than a mere outward profession, an investigation of the causes why the churches in our land are

equality.

In view of this condition of things, we would urge all Christians who desire the churches to take the highest ground in the recognition of the rights of every man to civil, religious, and per-sonal liberty, to meet in convention on the third Wednesday in April next, in the city of Cincin-"Yes, I love you at lad, my dearest and best friend. Hearts are not won in a day!—Bless me!" and Brighty turned and dropped her head upon his bosom. He folded her in his arms, murmuring, nati, for the purpose of adopting such measures ns the convention may in its wisdom devise, for freeing the American Israel from all connection with the sin of slavery.

Now, brethren, do not forget the time, and be-"My boon, my blessing, my comfort! I do bless-I bless thee!"

Now, brethren, do not forget the time, and begin at once to make your arrangements for the occasion. Prove your love to God and man by making sacrifices for the glory of the ONE, and for the happiness of the other.

We take the liberty to suggest to the friends of the object that there are brethren whose voices should be heard in the convention, but whose means are not sufficient to allow them to take the journey to Cincinnati. We hope that such brethren will be provided for by their neighborn, to meet their travelling expenses, so that the conmeet their travelling expenses, so that the convention may have the benefit of their counsels. And whatever can be done in this matter, let it be quickly done, in order that we may have the

WM. HENRY BRISBANE, B. P. AYDELOTT, S. C. STEVENS, A. BENTON, JOSEPH T. LEWIS, SAMUEL LEWIS, E. GOODMAN, S. H. CHASE, M C. WILLIAMS. LEVI COPPIN, JAMES C. WHITE. JONATHAN CABLE, &C.,

SPEECH OF MR. HALE, OF NEW AMPSHIRE, property as an article of commerce, when an attempt was made to carry it to any foreign country. That was an act passed under George Washington. Its THE TERRITORIAL QUETION

IN SENATE, TUESDAY, MARCHIO, 1850.

The Senate having under considertion the com romise resolutions submitted sometime since by

Mr. CLAY—

Mr. HALE. Mr. President, it teems to have been admitted by almost every one who hat addressed the Senaice on the subject which hasfor some time past engaged the attention of this bod, that the Senate and the country at large are divided into two classes—I will not say two great classes, but one large and one very small one; that the greatbody of the Senate and of the country are patriotic; that they earnestly and anxiously desire that the distrating questions which divide and harass the country may be settled upon some just and patriotic ground; while on the other hand, there are a few, designated as extremists, or ultraists, who do not desire to set any such end effected; who desire, in other words, to promote agitation; who are anxious for nothing but trouble and disturbance; whose sole purpose is b increase the irritation that already exists in the cimmunity—to keep the public mind sore, the public hise throbbing irregularly with feverish heat. Nothin, it is said, is so strange as the physical and moral diganization of these few gentlemen; agitation is the biliment upon which they find, and browhich they had a party of the same of the public mind sore, the public mis she had been with a motive for living, is gone.

Now, I have not a word to say personally against this; I am glad, sir, that these ultraise, it they do nothing more, at least accomplish this nucle good—that they afford this wholesome safety-valve to these extra exhibitions of patriotism on the part of those who are in the habit of addressing the Senate. Hardly any one seems to suppose that he has discharged the duty which he owes to the country, or done what he ought to do to satisfy his constituents, unless he mingles with the suggestions which he makes whole-

he ought to do to satisfy his constituents, unless he mingles with the suggestions which he makes whole-sale denunciations against those ultraints—those agi-tators; and even the calm and judicial mind of the Senator from North Carolina, who has just concluded

Senator from North Carolina, who has just concluded his remarks, is so infected with the prevailing mania, that even he, educated as he has been upon the bench, where he learned to sanction a line of safe precedents, could not sit down satisfied that he had discharged his duty, until he had releved his conscience of a due proportion of vituperation against these miserable fanatics and agitators.

I think, then, it must be granted that the agitators de some good—at least by affording a safe and wholesone channel through which this extra exhibition of patriotic indignation may find vent. I do hope that, if it be not conceded that they do any other good, at least credit will be accorded to them for this much. I bearnout a word to say here. Example 2 to 1 least or the truth and candor which prempts such a course. I make no appeal to gentlemen, who feel a consciousness in their own breasts that they are governed by high, pure, and elevated motives, to

consciousness in their own breasts that they are governed by high, pure, and elevated motives, to consider how far it is consistent with a proper self-respect to be continually employed in depreciating and attacking the motives of others.

When I obtained the floor, sir, some time since, after the address that was delivered by the distinguished Senator from South Carolina, who is not now in his sent, I suggested that, according to my reading of history, the account which he had undertaken to give of these agitations sounded to my mind more like the romance than the truth of history, and that I designed, upon some occasion, when it suit to more like the romance than the truth of history, and that I designed, upon some occasion, when it suited the convenience of the Senate, to set history right in some particulars alluded to by him. And that is one of the objects I propose to myself to-day. I shall, sir, be compelled to call the attention of the Senate to the speech of the Senator from South Carolina somewhat in detail; and, in devoting some few moments to a preparation upon this subject, I endeatored to make something of an analysis of it. Before I had proceeded very far in my examination, I found it assumed the form of a regular catechism—questions and answers being given. In the first place it commenced with a concession of the fact that the Union was in great danger; then it asks—

"1. How can the Union be preserved?

was in great danger; then it asks—

"1. How can the Union be preserved?

"Anseer.—To give a satisfactory answer to this mighty question, it is indispensable to have an accurate and thorough knowledge of the nature and character of the cause by which the Union is endangered.

"2. What has endangered the Union?

"Anseer.—To this question there can be but one answer; that the immediate cause is the almost universal discontent which pervades all the States composing the Southern section of the Union.

"3. What is the cause of this discontent?

"Anseer.—It will be found in the belief of the people of

the Southern States, as prevaient as inc discontent its
that they cannot remain, as things now are, consisten
with honor and safety, in the Union,
"4. What has caused this belief?
"APADES"—One of the cannot also stave question on
part of the North, and the stave question on
part of the North, and the stave agreement which it
have made on the rights of the South during the time.

Now, sir, the first act of this Government, in the series of these events which has broken up this equilibrium and caused this universal discontent, the honorable Senator says, is the Ordinance of 1787. I shall not undertake to go particularly into the history of that Ordinance, because it is familiar to the Senate and the country, and has been frequently referred to by gentlemen who have already addressed the Senate on this subject. This, mark you, is the first in the series of Northern aggressions by which the equilibrium which once existed has been destroyed.

Mr. BUTLER. The word "aggression" does not occur in his speech, in that connection, at all Mr. HALE. I do not know exactly whether the Senator used the word "aggression" or not; per-

Senator used the word "aggression" or not; per haps he did not.

Mr. BUTLER, (in his seat.) I know he did not.

Mr. BUTLER, (in his seat.) I know he did not.
Mr. HALE.* At any rate, it is one of the acts
which has destroyed the equilibrium. That is it.
The equilibrium is spoken of by the Senator several
times, and the Ordinance of 1787 was one of the
first of this series of events which, he claims, destroyed this equilibrium. And, sir, it is curious that
this first act of Northern aggression—the Ordinance
of 1787—was adopted in the Convention of 1787,
with but a single dissenting vote, and that was a
Northern vote. Yes, sir, the only vote in the Convention of 1787 against this Ordinance, which is said
to have broken up the equilibrium of the States that
originally existed, and which was to be perpetuated
between the Northern and Southern States, was a
vote from a Northern State—the State of New York;
for the delegates from every other State voted unanimously for it—the delegates from South Carolina
among the number. among the number.

Well, sir, what followed? I propose to show now,

Well, sir, what followed? I propose to show now, if the Senate will give me their attention, that this famous Ordinance of 1787, which has now got to be the Wilmot Proviso, and which is deemed to be so insulting to the Southern States of the Confederacy, if it is retained in our Federal legislation; that this Ordinance of 1787, older than the Constitution, was re-enacted by the first Congress which assembled under that Constitution, and in the preamble to the act which recognized the Ordinance it is expressly recited that it is done in order that its provisions shall be made conformable to the Constitution of the United States. The act was approved the 7th August, 1783, and is to be found in chapter 8th of the laws of the United States. The preamble I will road. It is as follows:

"Whereas, in order that the Ordinance of the Unite States in Congress assembled, for the government of the Territory northwest of the river Ohio, may continue have full effect, it is requisite that certain provisions show be made, so as to adapt the same to the present Consist tion of the United States."

Territory northwest of the river Ohio, may continue to have full effect, it is requisite that certain provisions should be made, so as to adapt the same to the present Constitution of the United States."

That, sir, was the position of the first Congress that assembled under the Federal Constitution; it re-enacted and re-established the provisions of that Ordinance. Now, sir, we have been told to-day, as well as on previous occasions, the fifth principle is insisted on, it is an insult and auch a grievous wrong that the Southern States, if this principle is insisted on, it is an insult and auch a grievous wrong that the Southern States, if they remain in the Confederacy, will remain not from any principle of attachment to the Union, but from fear of the bit-ter consequences which might follow secession. Now, I undertake to say that I will prove, to the satisfaction of every reasonable man who can read the statutes of the country, that the principle embodied in that Ordinance of 1787, and re-enacted by the first Congress under the Federal Constitution—who declared that they did it to adapt its provisions to those of the Federal Constitution—has been continued to be re-enacted, in substance, from the time of Gen. Washington, who signed the first act, down to James K. Polk, who signed the same provision in the Oregon bill; and that the talk which is raised by gentlemen about making an unequal and unjust discrimination about property, has no foundation which may not with equal justice be alleged against every one of the acts of the Federal Government organizing Territories, which mark our history from the adoption of the Constitution down to the present time. I ask the attention of the Senate to the subject. It will be found that, as early as 1794, on the 22d March, by an act of Congress, General Washington then being President—whilst the foreign slave trade was not prohibited, and could not be by the provisions of the Federal Constitution until 1808; while the trade in foreign slaves was the subject of legitumate

provisions were as follows:

provisions were as follows:

"An act to prohibit the carrying on the Slave Trade from
the United States to any foreign place or country.

"Sec. 1 prohibits building of fitting out vessels for the
purpose of carrying slaves to any foreign country, or procuring them in any foreign country to carry them to another. Vessels fitted out for that purpose forfeited.

"Sec. 2 imposes a penalty of \$2,000 on any person aiding
or abetting in fitting out such a vessel.

"Sec. 3. Any owner, master, or factor of any vessel
clearing for Africa, or suspected of being intended for the
slave trade, are required to give bond in substance not to
violate the provisions of this act.

"Sec. 4 imposes a penalty of \$200 for every person received on board any vessel in violation of this act.

"Approxed, March 22, 1794."

That is an act passed in 1794. Well, sir, other acts of a similar character, only more express and explicit in their provisions, may be found. In the act of 1798, for the settlement of the limits of the State of Georgia, and the establishment of a Government for the Mississippi Territory, passed on the 7th April, 1798: "Approved, March 22, 1794."

"Sec. 3 establishes a Government for the Mississippi Territory, in all respects similar to that now exercised in the Territory northwest of the river Ohio, excepting and excluding the last article of the Ordinance made for the government thereof by the late Congress, on the 18th of July, 1878, which provides that there shall be neither slavery nor serimes, &c. "Sec. 7 makes it urlawful to bring slaves into Mississipp

"Sec. 7 makes it urlawful to bring slaves min mississippi Territory from any place without the United States, imposes a penalty of \$300 for every slave thus brought into the Ter-ritory in violation of the provisions of this act, and gives every slave thus brought in his or her freedom. "Approved, April 7, 1798."

Look at the provisions of that act. Slaves might legally be imported into the United States for ten years after that act was passed; they might be imported, and were as much and us legally a subject of property as anything else, but Congress took occasion to regulate that species of property ten years before the prohibition to the importation of slaves was to take effect, and declared that slaves should not be carried into the Mississippi Territory from any place without the United States, and that any slave carried there became free, and a penalty was imposed on those that took them there.

Slaves were at that time—in 1798—legal articles of commerce. Congress had no power under the Constitution to prohibit vessels from going to foreign countries, and taking cargoes of slaves, and bringing them here. They were, under the Constitution, as legatimately articles of commerce as sugar or molasses. Well, Congress did undertake, that early in 1798, to say that slaves, which were recognised as articles of commerce in the States, should not be carried into the Territories. That fact establishes to the property of the territories and it shows that they legislated upon this particular subject within the Territories. Well, sir, there are other acts of a similar character. In an act erecting Louisiana into two Territories, and not be carried into the territories.

well, sir, there are other acts of a similar character. In an act erecting Louisiana into two Territories, and providing for the temporary government thereof, approved the 21st March, 1804, section 10 prohibits the bringing into said Territory, from any place without the United States, any slave or slaves, and imposed a fine of three hundred dollars for any slave so imported; and, further, the act prohibited the bringing into the Territory any slave or slaves which shall have been imported into the United States since the lat day of May, 1798, or which shall hereafter be imported. Under the provisions of this act, passed in 1804, Congress undertook to say that slaves which lad been imported into one of the slave States between 1798 and 1804, fair matters of commerce under the Constitution, should not be carried into the Territory, and imposed a penalty on any one so carrying them. Here, then, is an express and explicit recognition, on the part of Congress, of the right and authority of Congress thus to legislate upon this subject.

slavery to a certain class of slaves, in other instances excluding it altogether.

And now we are told that if we adhere to this long-established, well-considered construction of the Constitution; if we continue to tread in the old path which our fathers marked out for us, that the sensibility, the sensitiveness of the South, which has been sleeping for more than fifty years, will be galvanized into such activity, as to endanger the Union itself.

Well, sir, these arguments may be all potent, but I want to put history right. We are told that this agitation of the subject of slavery here is something new, and the Senaior from South Carolina gave it a date of fifteen years. He said that it had commenced in 1835, and that as soon as it was introduced, he saw the mischief that was to ensue from it. The honorable Senator from South Carolina did not go saw the mischief that was to ensue from it. The honorabie Senator from South Carolina did not go back far enough; agitating papers of the sort complained of came here longer ago than that. He ought to have gone back to 1776, and he would have found one of the most "agitating" and "fanatical" papers that he could well find, beginning with the declaration that all men are created equal. The agitation of this question of slavery goes back as far as that, and it shows what was the action and understanding of the men of that day. I wish to read, sir, a petition presented to the first Congress that ever assemtion presented to the first Congress that ver assembled under the Federal Constitution, and signed by one of the great minds that framed it. I allude, sir, to Doctor Franklin; not one of these modern "agitators," not one of those amphibious animals, that have been described as flying about in the twilight, between light and darkness.

have been described as flying about in the twilight, between light and darkness.

On the 12th February, 1776, Benjamin Franklin, as President of the Pennsylvania Society for promoting the abolition of slavery, the relief of free negroes unlawfully held in bondage, and the improvement of the African race, presented a petition, which I send to the Clerk's table to be read: PERSUARY 12, 1790.

PERGUARY 12, 1790.

"A memorial of the Pennsylvania Society for promoting the abolition of slavery, the relief of free negroes unlawfully held in bondage, and the improvement of the African race, was presented and read.

"The memorial respectfully showeth:

"That, from a regard for the happiness of mankind, an association was formed, several years since, in this State, by a number of her citizens, of various religious denominations, for promoting the abolition of slavery, and for the relief of those unlawfully held in bondage. A just and acute conception of the true-principles of liberty, as it spread through the land, produced accessions to their numbers, many friends to their cause, and a legislative co-operation with their views, which, by the blessing of Divine Providence, have been successfully directed to the relieving from bondage a large number of their fellow-creatures, of the African race. They have also the astisfaction to observe, that, in consequence of that spirit of philanthropy and genuine liberty which is generally directed to the tenderical influence, similar institutions are forming at home and abroad.

dom.

"Under these impressions, they exceedly entreat your serious attention to the subject of slavery; that you will be pleased to countenance the restoration of liberty to those unhappy men, who alone in this land of freedom are degraded into perpetual bondage, and who, amidst the general joy of surrounding freemen, are grasning in service subjection; that you will devase means for removing this in consistency from the character of the American people that you will promote mercy and justice towards this distressed race; and that you will step to the very verge of the power vested in you, for discouraging every species of

here, is the man who alone of mortal man had vision enough to answer the question proposed by the Almighty to his servant long ago, when he asked him if he "can discover the way of the lightning of thunder?"

Well, sir, I have another document, and a very curious one it is, too, referring to the action on this

House Journal, Vol. 4, Page 3:1—24 Session 7th Congress—March 2, 18:03.

"Mr. Randolph from the committee to which were referred a letter from William Henry Harrison, President of the Convention held at Vincennes, declaring the consent of the people of Indiana to the suspension of the sixth article of compact between the United States and the people of Ant Territory, also a memorial and petition of the inhabitants of the said Territory, made the following report:

"That the rapid population of the State of Ohlo sufficiently evinces, in the opinion of your committee, that the labor of slavus is not necessary to promote the growth and settlement of colonies in that region; that this labor, demonstrably the dearest of any, can only be employed to advantage in the cultivation of products more valuable than any known to that quarter of the United States; that the committee deem it highly dangerous and inexpedient to impair a provision wisely calculated to promote the happiness and vrougetify of the Northwesteen country, and to give extremely and eccurity to that extensive frontier. In the salutary operation of this sagacious and betweeleth restraint, it is believed that the inhabitants of Indiana will, at no very distant day, find ample remuneration for a temporary privation of labor and of emigration.

"From such a consideration as they have been enabled to bestow on the subject at this late period of the session and under the pressure of accumulating business, they recommend the following resolutions, which are respectfully submitted to the judgment of the House.

"I Resolved, That it is inexpedient to suspend, for a limited time, the operation of the sixth article of compact between the original States and the people and States west of the Ohio.

"2 &c., &c."

And, sir, is there a citizen of Indiana to-day, who And, sir, is there a citizen of Indana to-day, who will not rise up and do credit to the sagacity and philanthropy of John Randolph, when he told them that, in the wisdom and sagacity of that exercise of power, they would find ample remuneration for any temporary grievance they might be suffering under, by the present application? And, sir, here was a case stronger than any which has been or can be presented here—a case of a Territory of the United States, settled by freemen, with alwars, interdicted, who come tled by freemen, with slavery interdicted, who come forward and ask Congress to relieve them from that interdiction—to relieve them from that prohibition and Congress refused to do it. And they refused to do it upon the report from which I have just read—that made by Mr. John Randolph, of Virginia.

was not imposed by a part, but that it was the act of the whole country. It was impressed upon the legis-lation of the country at its earliest period; it has coninton of the country at its earliest period; it has continued there ever since, and it remains there now. What do gentlemen want? On the principle that they contend for, that it is an insult, do they want to repeal the bill establishing the Oregon Territory? Do they want it obliterated from the history of our legislation? They can speak for themselves, sir, on that point.

The second matter which has disturbed the equilibrium according to the arguments of Senators, is

that point. The second matter which has disturbed the equilibrium, and the Missouri Compromise. Sir, I can tell these gentlemen that the Missouri Compromise of Senators, is the Missouri Compromise. Sir, I can tell these gentlemen that the Missouri Compromise of Senators, is the Missouri Compromise. Sir, I can tell these gentlemen that the Missouri Compromise of Senators, is the Missouri Compromise. Sir, I can tell these gentlemen that the Missouri Compromise of Senators, is the Missouri Compromise. Sir, I can tell these gentlemen that the Missouri Compromise of the Missouri Compromise of the Missouri Compromise of the Missouri Compromise of the Account of the Senatority, and imposed a penalty on any one so carrying them. Here, then, is an express and explicit recognition, on the part of Congress, of the right and authority of Congress thus to legislate upon this subject.

Under the provisions of this law, no one could move from a slave State into the Louisiana Territory in 1801, '2; and '3, and carry with him slaves imported from Africa into any State subsequently to 1798. Or if they did, they did it in violation of this law, which prohibited it.

I will not weary the Senate by going over the history of these several acts. They will, very many of them, be found in a speech delivered in this body on the 20th June, 1848, by Mr. Dix, then a member from the State of New York, and they come down to the very last Congress—because the last Congress, adhering to the legislation heretofore practiced, passed the Oregon bill, containing this very same prohibition, and it was signed by Mr. James K. Polk. He certainly must have understood it to be a constitutional prohibition, the constitutional exercise of a defendence of the Compromise characterized it as a great healer measure, and as a body, were against it. Then, sir, it is the South who were aggressive, and who were destroying the equilibrium; and it is the only cquilibrium, and the Northern men as a body, were against it. Then, sir, it is the South who were destroyin healing measure, and as one that gave quiet, peace, and security to the country, and will do it again, it adopted? And is it not covering coefficie that count thus ask us to return and settle down mound thus nek us to return and settle down on one of the very measures that, in the opinion of the Senator from South Carolina, has been so potent and effectual in destroying the equilibrium? Yes, sir, the Missouri Compromise, which is d signated by the Senator from South Carolina as the great equilibrium-destroyer, has been lauded in our presence as a measure of the senator from South Carolina as the great equilibrium-destroyer, has been lauded in our presence as a measure of the senator from South Carolina as the great equilibrium destroyer, the senator from South Carolina as the great equilibrium destroyer, has been lauded in our presence as a measure of the senator for the

equilibrium-destroyer, has been lauded in our presence as a measure of peace and concord, and as one that the South is willing to take and abide by now. Yes, sir, this measure, which Southern gentlemen now express their readiness to receive and abide by, the Senator from South Carolina puts second in his list of the measures which have destroyed the equilibrium and produced discontent in the South! That is all, sir.

Well, sir, the third measure of which the Senator speaks as destroying the equilibrium between the Well, sir, the third measure of which the Senator speaks as destroying the equilibrium between the sections, and producing this great discontent in the South, is the Oregon bill: If this be so, it must, indeed, have had a wonderfully rapid influence, for it was only passed in August, 1848, has been but about a year and a half in operation, and, indeed, I do not know whether any despatches have been received by this Government, informing us of the organization of the Government instituted at that time; if they have been, they have not been laid before Congress 1s it possible, then—can the Senator from South Carolina be serious, when he mentions the Oregon bill as one of the three measures of the Government which have produced such universal discontent at the South that they can no longer remain in the Union? What possible influence can the Oregon bill have had on the South within the brief time that has transpired since its passage? I will not spend more time on this subject. The charge is preposterous.

refer, as it shows that there was discontent and talk of disunion in the South long before this Oregon bill was thought of. The Senator from South Carolina speaks of the abolition fanatics in 1835, (which is speaks of the abolition fanatics in 1835, (which is the time, as he says, they commenced their operations.) as being small and contemptible, and as having no sort of influence and consideration. Now, what was the declaration of the Senator in 1835, the very time when he states this faction was so small and contemptible? In Niles's Register of 1835, 49th vol., 49th page, is an extract of a letter from John C. Calhoun to the editor of the Washington Telegraph. He says:

"Since you maked through the South, the excitement in

ington Telegraph. He says:

"Since you passed through the South, the excitement in The indication to the Northern fanalics has very greatly increased. The indications are, that the South will be unanimous in their resistance, and that their resistance will be of the most determined character, even to the extent of disuntion, if that should be necessary to arrest the evil. It rust, however, it may be arrested far short of such extremity."

ever, it may be arrested for short of such extremity."

From this it appears that as long ago as 1835, the South—all the South he speaks for—had come to such a unanimous determination to resist the Northern fanatics, that, if they could not put them down in any other way, they were ready to dissolve the Union. "Small and contemptible as this faction then was," to use the language of the Senator from South Carolina, it was potent enough, it seems, to work up the whole South to a determination to dissolve the Union if they were not put down.

I wish to call the attention of the Senate to another view of this question of the equilibrium. The Senator from Georgia, [Mr. Berren,] in his speech the other day, puts this significant question to Senators from the Northern States. He says:

"Now, sir, revert to the period when this Constitution."

express it.— Do you believe that this Constitution would have been formed under such circumstances?"

Now, sir, it seems to me that an all sufficient snewer to this question is to be found in the fact that the Constitution was formed under precisely the circumstances on which he speculates. Under what circumstances was the Constitution formed, sir? Why, every inch of territory which the States then owned was subject to this very prohibition? Every inch of territory by that provision of the Continental Congress, ratified by the first Congress under the Federal Constitution, was subjected to the inhibition of slavery, and was carved out to be admitted into the Union as five free States. The Senator's question, therefore, has a historical answer. They not only would have entered the Confederation with such a prohibition, but they actually did enter it under just such a state of facts as the question presupposes. So much for the "equilibrium" in this point of view.

In another part of his speech the Senator from South Carolina eays, that, next after the Ordinance of 1787, the Missouri Comprom se, and the Oregon bill, among the causes which have produced discontent at the South is the system of revenue and disbursements adopted by the Government. He says:

"The next is the system of revenue and disbursements

subject later in the history of Congress. It is to be found in the fourth volume of the House Journals, page 331, second session of seventh Congress, under date of March 2, 1803; and it is, sir, a case in point. The Territory of Indiana then being under the provisions of the Ordinance of Freedom of 1787, the people of Indiana, through a public meeting, of which William Henry Harrison was President, petitioned that this article of the Ordinance of '87, prohibiting slavery in the Territory, might be suspended for a given number of years—about ten, I believe it was. The petition was referred to a committee, of which the celebrated John Randolph, of Virginis, was chairman. I desire to read an extract from his report, because it shows what sentiments obtained in Virginia on this subject, in 1803:

House Journal, Vol. 4, Page 321—2d. Session 7th Congress—March 2, 1803.

"Mr. Randolph from the committee to which were referred a letter from William Henry Harrison, President of the Congress of the Congress declaring the consent of the Congress of the Congress declaring the consent of the Congress of the Congress declaring the consent of the Congress of the Congress declaring the consent of the Congress before the Congress of the Congre

I think it well for the Senator that he did not up

I think it well for the Senator that he did not undertake to show that, for he knows that the duties fall upon and are paid by the consumers, be they where they may. A State, therefore, which has a population ten times greater than that of another State, pays ten times more revenue. No matter where the imports go, those who consume them pay the duties upon them. Go into the manufacturing towns and villages, where they consume a large amount of sugar and other dutiable articles, do they not pay the duty on their importation? And is not the fact true always, that it is the consumer, wherever he may be, who pays the duty? Sir, the fact is undeniable.

The Senator undertakes to show that by far the greater portion of our revenue has been disbursed at the North, or more than its due share. Now, sir, that struck me as the most bold assertion in the whole speech. Is all history, sir, to be set at maught in this matter? The disbursements greater at the North than in the South! Why, sir, in the State in which I live, aside from the expenses of collecting the revenue, not \$50,000 of the public money has been spent in fifty years. No, sir, the expenditures of the Government are not made there; the officers of the Government do not come from the North, nor are the great contracts made there. What is it that are the great contracts made there. What is it that

"If to this be added, that many of the duties were impe

Now, sir, let us examine this point. It is the tariff, then, that has done injury to the South, and produced discontent there. Now, I have been at some little pains to examine the history of the various tariffs, and our revenue policy, and I find that the first tariff act was passed on the 4th of July, 1789, and the preamble to it is in the following words:

"Whereas it is necessary, for the support of Government for the discharge of the debts of the United States, and for the encouragement and protection of manufactures, that duties be laid on goods, wares, and merchandise, import ed."

New Hampshire	2	1	Delaware	- 1	- 0
New Hampshire Massachusetts Connecticut New York New Jers y	0	- 8	Maryland	- 3	9
C .nnecticut	3	2	Virginia	7	0
New York	4	1	North Carolina	6	0
New Jers y	2	0	South Carolina	3	1
Pennsylvania	7	0	Georgia	3	0
				40	15
The tould some	mtm ad		stantially on it		war and

it became necessary to abandon the war acts passed during its prosecution, and to settle down on some-thing like a permanent policy, and a tariff act was passed. It passed the House of Representatives, yeas 88, nays 54; and as the yeas and nays upon it

Virginia
North Carolina
South Carolina
Georgia
Kentucky
Tennessee

And among the yeas on the passage of that bill stands recorded the name of John C. Calhoun, one of the Representatives from South Carolina. That was in 1816. The tariff policy of the country continued without material alteration until 1824, when was in 1816. The tariff policy of the country con-tinued without material alteration until 1824, when another bill on the subject passed the House, yeas 107, nays 102. South Carolina then changed front on the question. But I wish to call the attention of the Senate to the vote of New England on the sub-ject, because she has been considered the greatest sinner in regard to it. Her vote on the tariff was yeas 15, nays 23, as follows:

And such had been the uniform policy of that portion of the country. But the history of the tariff acts that have been passed show that the Northern States have generally objected to them, and that too against the power and the eloquence of the Senator from South Carolina, in 1816, in the House. And when this policy was forced on New England, and forced on her too by Southern votes, against her own wishes, then, sir, the genius, the enterprise, and the industry of her people began to accommodate themselves to that state of things, and because she flourished under it, it is made a charge against her, and forms the next point in the indictment against the

concentrating all the power of the system in itself. The occasion will not permit me to trace the measures by which this great change has been consummated. If it did, it would not be difficult to show that the process commenced at an early period of the Government; that it proceeded, almost without interruption, step by step, until it absorbed virtually its entire powers; but without going through the whole process to establish the fact, it may be done satisfactorily by a very short statement.

"That the Government claims, and practically maintains the right to decide in the last resort, as to the extent of its powers, will scarcely be denied by any one conversant with the political history of the country. That it also claims the right to resort to force to maintain whatever power she claims against all opposition, is equally certain."

His charge is, that this Government has changed gradually from a federal republic to a consolidated democracy. Who has done it? From the very adoption of the Constitution down to the present time, what counsels have prevailed? Northern or Southern? Who have been the Presidents of the United States? Northern men or Southern men? Again, with reference to the action of the Supreme Court, who have been on the bench of that court? History will show that there has been no time when who have been on the bench of that court? History will show that there has been no time when you would trust Northern men there, so as to constitute a majority. Though a man may have crept to the foot of power in the most abject manner, the North could never be trusted so far as to have her citizens constitute a majority on the bench of that court. There has always been a majority of South-

SER FOURTH PAGE